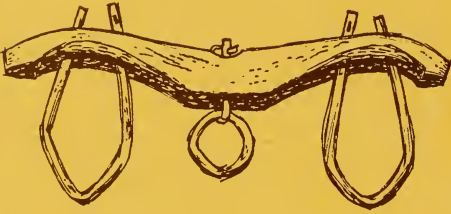


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Abraham Lincoln, Senior,  
Grandfather of the  
President

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# THE FILSON CLUB HISTORY QUARTERLY

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# ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SENIOR, GRANDFATHER OF THE PRESIDENT

BY LOUIS A. WARREN

Director of the Lincoln Historical Research Foundation of The Lincoln  
National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Read before The Filson Club, March 2, 1931

The most costly memorials ever built to commemorate achievements of a military force have been dedicated to the memory of the World War veterans. The soldiers who served in the Spanish-American conflict have not been forgotten. Nearly every Northern and Southern city of any size has some monument calling to mind the part which its citizens took in the struggle between the States. The men who lost their lives in the skirmishes with Mexico and in the War of 1812 have been numbered among the honored dead of the nation. Our fathers of the Revolution have had their resting places marked, if sufficient information has been available to locate the burial places.

Most of the men, women, and children who participated in the longest and most gruesome struggle in the history of our Nation occupy unmarked graves, and many of their heroic achievements seem to be slowly fading out of this dramatic beginning of our country. These heroes were not mercenary or conscripted troops, and neither sex was barred in the efforts made to protect their homes in the new country. No certain battlefield marks the beginning or the end of these hostilities, and the number of casualties in the bloodiest of contests will never be known.

While it is impossible to mark out a boundary within which the conflict took place, as the whole Nation seemed to be the contested ground, the contests which began in the Colonies found one of the principal theaters of the war in the Kentucky Country. Here the favorite hunting ground of the American redskins was at stake, and supplied with firearms they became a formidable foe to every group of emigrants who dared to set foot on their sacred domain.

Possibly we fail to appreciate the fact that every trail leading to a ford or salt-lick was traversed only after many skirmishes, and that every clearing in the wilderness was cultivated only after a contest for the possession of the corn land. Our cities have grown up on the frontier altars where the new nation sacrificed whole families to the opening of the Western Country.

It is the purpose of this biographical sketch to set forth the activities of one of these brave men, Abraham Lincoln, Senior, grandfather of the President, who was massacred not far from the city of Louisville and who may serve as a type of the heroic souls who braved this wilderness in order that the great Northwest might be settled.

Abraham Lincoln, eldest son of John and Rebecca Flowers Morris Lincoln, was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, May 13, 1744.<sup>1</sup> The substantial brick dwelling in which his father lived still stands as a testimony to the economic status of the home in which he was brought up.

The Boones and Lincolns who occupied adjacent farms in Berks County were not only near neighbors but there are several instances where they were brought into close association. George Boone, uncle of Daniel Boone, was one of the executors of the estate of Mordecai Lincoln, grandfather of the subject of this sketch.<sup>2</sup> They were both justices of the peace in Berks County in 1732, which fact allows them to be classified among the responsible citizens of the community.<sup>3</sup> Squire Boone, father of Daniel, was one of the appraisers of Mordecai Lincoln's estate.

Abraham Lincoln was named for his father's brother, Abraham, a man of some political importance in Pennsylvania. His uncle, Abraham, married Ann Boone, own cousin of Daniel Boone. An aunt, Sarah Lincoln, married William Boone, another cousin of Daniel Boone. There were at least five inter-marriages in Berks County between the Lincoln and Boone families.

The political importance of both the Lincoln and Boone groups in Berks County, Pennsylvania, is evident from the early records. When Abraham Lincoln, the subject of this sketch, was growing up, he saw at least two of his uncles occupy important places in the county, and, later on, a third uncle achieved prominence in the state government.

On October 4, 1755, Abraham's uncle William Boone was elected a sheriff of Berks County and the following year, Abra-

ham's uncle Thomas Lincoln was elected coroner of the county.<sup>4</sup> On October 4, 1757, Thomas Lincoln succeeded his brother-in-law William Boone as sheriff of the County of Berks and occupied this office two years.<sup>5</sup>

It was Abraham's uncle Abraham Lincoln, for whom he was named, who went farther in politics than his other early kinsmen. In 1782 he was first elected as a representative of the General Assembly from Berks County.<sup>6</sup> The next year he headed the ticket with the largest number of votes polled for the office of representative, and the third year, 1784, the poll of the three victorious candidates was as follows: Nicholas Lusby, 1,135; Abraham Lincoln, 1,125; and Christian Lowry, 875.<sup>7</sup> He was a member of the State Convention of 1787 and the Constitutional Convention of 1789 and 1790. There is a tradition that after the Revolutionary War he was chosen to make the address to Washington at Philadelphia.<sup>8</sup>

It is not to be expected that the group of Lincolns who migrated to the Shenandoah Valley with their Pennsylvania neighbors, would be submerged in the new location, inasmuch as they had been influential citizens in the former community. The family of John Lincoln must have arrived in the Virginia Country by the year 1768, because, on January 22 of that year, the head of the family purchased 600 acres of land on Linville Creek.<sup>9</sup>

The brothers of Abraham Lincoln soon began to make their influence felt in that part of Augusta County which was later to be set apart as Rockingham County. By 1773 Isaac Lincoln was serving as a constable<sup>10</sup> and two years later he was found on the Western frontier with Colonel Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and others, where on March 11, 1775, he was present at a treaty of the Cherokee Indians and the Transylvania Company.<sup>11</sup> He later located in what is now the State of Tennessee, where he accumulated much land, and at the death of his widow thirty-four slaves were listed in the inventory of his estate.<sup>12</sup>

Another brother, Jacob, was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary War and the only one of John Lincoln's sons who remained in the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>13</sup> The old Colonial brick dwelling which Jacob erected there in the year 1800 gives evidence of the social and economic standing of the family.

John Lincoln, Jr., another brother, was deputy surveyor of Rockingham County.<sup>14</sup> He later on became owner of a grist mill and tannery. In the year 1819 he removed to Ohio.



The youngest of the five brothers, Thomas, removed to the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky, and the distillery which he operated was a paying adventure until he became one of his own steady customers. During one year, however, he listed for taxation six slaves, five horses, and 290 acres of first-class land, also one "wheeled carriage," which was surely an item of distinction even for Lexington.<sup>15</sup>

While Abraham Lincoln's brothers seemed to prosper and occupy worthy places in the Shenandoah Valley, it was Abraham himself who received the greatest distinction. In the year 1770, when but twenty-six years old, he was appointed the executor of an estate, but refused to take the responsibility thus wished upon him.<sup>16</sup> By 1776, at the outbreak of the Revolution, he became captain of a company of militia, as revealed in the court martial records of Augusta County, which are now in the office of the Corporation Court of the City of Staunton, Virginia. Rockingham County was organized in 1777 at the time Lincoln was still serving as a captain. The seven companies of militia in the county each consisted of sixty men, rank and file, commanded by a captain. They were the armed forces of the colony, and but six other men of like rank besides Abraham Lincoln had been chosen in this section of Augusta County, which became Rockingham. On many occasions between 1776 and 1778 Captain Abraham Lincoln was serving as Judge Advocate in the courts of Rockingham and Augusta counties.<sup>17</sup>

Anyone who tries to minimize the status of Abraham Lincoln as a soldier of the American Revolution, must account for the fact that he was one of the seven men in the entire county of Rockingham honored by a captaincy at the beginning of hostilities, and he was still a resident of the county until a few months before the official closing of the war.

A review of the Virginia environment of the Lincoln family in the Shenandoah Valley does not accord with the testimony of Nathaniel Wright Stephenson who claims that the parents of the president's father were a "drifting roaming people struggling with poverty, and dwellers in the Virginia mountains."<sup>18</sup>

The Augusta County marriage returns record the date of Abraham Lincoln's marriage as of June 9, 1770, but the name of the June bride is not mentioned. Inasmuch as the marriage is recorded in Augusta County, it would appear that the young lady

Abraham Lincoln married was living in Virginia. This brings us to a question which has never been satisfactorily settled in the minds of Lincoln students: What was the name of the woman Abraham Lincoln married in 1770?

Lincoln biographers have been willing to accept the tradition most widely circulated that Abraham Lincoln was married but once, and that Bersheba Herring was the mother of all of his children. It must be admitted that there is no document available which records a second marriage. When one analyzes the tradition which is wholly responsible for the naming of the Herring family as one through which one of the ancestral lines of president Lincoln's forebears must be traced, he is reluctant to accept the testimony as valid.

The only positive evidence we have about a wife of Abraham Lincoln is that he was married as early as February 18, 1780, to a woman whose first name was Bersheba, and that she continued as his wife until his death.<sup>19</sup>

We are entirely dependent on tradition when we assume that the name of this woman was Herring. The earliest versions of the story state that she was a daughter of Leonard Herring. As Herring was married in the month of August, 1761,<sup>20</sup> his oldest child, even though it were Bersheba, could have been but nine years old when Abraham Lincoln's first child was born. Later versions of the Herring story, however, have shifted to the statement that Alexander Herring, father of Leonard, was the parent of Bersheba.<sup>21</sup> This places Bersheba in the right generation, but her name is not mentioned in connection with the children of Alexander.

While some parts of the Herring tradition do support the suggestions that there was a marriage between Abraham Lincoln and a Herring daughter shortly before the time of the migration to the Western Country, it is so out of harmony with the actual position which Abraham Lincoln occupied in the community that the whole story must be challenged.

These facts should be kept in mind by those who are willing to accept the tradition that Bersheba Herring was the first wife of Abraham Lincoln and the mother of all of his children:

1. The Lincoln and Herring families could not have met until 1768, two years before the Lincoln marriage date in 1770. Social contacts were few at that time, and the period of courtship usually extended over a period of years.

2. The church affiliations of the two families were different, and, as the church was the usual place of social contact, it is evident that there were no periodic meetings of the young people from the two families.

3. Did Abraham Lincoln in naming his three sons ignore the good old names in the Herring family, such as Alexander, Leonard, Bethuel, William, etc.? From the viewpoint of the genealogist, this was an unpardonable sin for that day, especially when Abraham named one of his sons Josiah, a name which never appears in the history of the Lincolns until introduced at this time.

This gives rise to an early tradition that the grandmother of Abraham Lincoln was a Boone, and there have been several traditions to this effect which have become current in the Boone family. One of the first claimants for this honor was Anne Boone. She did marry an Abraham Lincoln whom we have already mentioned as having resided in Pennsylvania. He was an uncle of the Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the president.

Another candidate who has been nominated as the grandmother of President Lincoln is one of the daughters of Anne Boone, a sister of Daniel Boone, who married William Winters in 1747. One tradition has it that Anne Boone Winters' daughter, Hannah, became the wife of Lincoln, while another tradition coming down in the same family holds that the name of the Winters' girl who married Lincoln was Elizabeth.

It is not known, however, that this family migrated from Pennsylvania to Virginia with the Lincolns, and although the tradition has sound support in the Winters' family and the Lincoln and Winters names seem to be associated in the pioneer country, there is no documentary evidence to support this theory.

Since the naming of children followed a very rigid custom in the early pioneer days and the perpetuation of a given name through the sons and daughters of the family was very much to be desired, possibly the key to the situation as to who was the grandmother of Abraham Lincoln on the paternal side may eventually be solved by the name Josiah. This name is found nowhere else in the early history of the Lincoln family. Was it the name of Abraham Lincoln's stepfather or one of his stepbrothers? This brings us immediately to the question, Did

Abraham Lincoln marry a daughter of Josiah Boone? We have evidence that the family of Josiah migrated to the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia and settled on the same original survey occupied by the Lincolns, at about the same time the family of John Lincoln moved. When Josiah Boone and Abraham Lincoln sold their farms, Michael Shanks purchased both tracts.<sup>22</sup>

Josiah was a brother of William Boone, who had married Sarah Lincoln. He was born in 1726 and married in 1750. He migrated to the Kentucky country about the same time as the Lincolns. A fee book in the Durrett Collection reveals his residence in Jefferson County in 1787. I am inclined to believe that the Josiah Lincoln's name appearing on the copied Long Run land survey of the pioneer Lincoln was erroneously copied Josiah Lincoln instead of Josiah Boone. It does not seem possible that the child Josiah Lincoln, but eleven years of age, could be legally listed as a chain carrier in an official survey.<sup>23</sup>

The writer frankly admits that there is no proof of a marriage between Abraham Lincoln and a daughter of Josiah Boone, but the similarity in names and the close association of the families in three states is worthy of notice in approaching this problem.

On January 7, 1770, Jacob Waren, of Augusta County, made his will and named his wife Ann Waren, along with Abraham Lincoln, as executors of his estate.<sup>24</sup> Just why he should choose this young man, twenty-six years of age and unmarried, as his executor is not clear, and as has already been stated, Abraham Lincoln refused to qualify for this office. This entry might imply that Jacob had a daughter to whom Abraham was engaged, but this is a very doubtful probability. The closeness of his marriage day is the only point of contact. On July 7, the month after Abraham Lincoln was married, he purchased two cows at the sale of Jacob Waren's estate for three pounds and ten shillings.<sup>25</sup>

I do not find any Josiahs in the Waren family, but it would greatly interest me to know what prompted Jacob Waren to make this young man his executor. It might be said that the Waren family had also moved from Berks County, Pennsylvania, to the Shenandoah Valley.

It was the impression of one of the grandsons of Bersheba that she was a Shipley, but there has been no good evidence to support this claim. Unless we are willing to accept the Herring tradition, which seems very shaky from both the viewpoint of

the documents and the early customs of the pioneers, we must leave the maiden name of Lincoln's wife an unknown quantity, as well as the problem of his second marriage.

Before we bring the Lincolns into the Kentucky Country, it is of importance to learn the change in their religious affiliations. In the Berks County settlement in Pennsylvania they were in the midst of a Quaker people, of whom the Boones were the leading supporters.

In the Shenandoah Valley, however, the Lincolns came in contact with the Baptists. The Linville Creek Baptist Church was organized on October 6, 1756, and its records allow us to learn about the Lincolns' affiliation with this body.<sup>26</sup> As early as 1772 Hannah Harrison, wife of John Harrison, was baptized into this church, and there is evidence that Hannah was the oldest sister of Abraham Lincoln. In 1776 the records state that "Brother Lincoln was delegated to go and acquaint Brother Hart of the time of our stated meeting." We also feel confident that this Lincoln, whose given name is not mentioned, was Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of the President. He had been married six years and was the head of a family at the time this entry appeared. None of his younger brothers were married, and we are quite sure that his aged father, John, was not affiliated with this church. Some years later, and while his father still lived, the name of one John Lincoln, whose wife's name was Mary, appears on the records. He affiliated with the church on April 3, 1788. This was John Lincoln, the son of the Pioneer John.

This Baptist affiliation of the Lincolns in Virginia deserves much more space than we are able to give it here. The presence of the Long Run Baptist Church in Kentucky, on the tract of land owned by Abraham Lincoln, may trace its origin to the Baptist organization in the Shenandoah Valley as there seem to be many names in common in the two organizations. This same allegiance to the Baptist Church, in Virginia, may also explain the reason why the President's parents later affiliated with this religious body.

Abraham had purchased from his father, John, 210 acres of land as early as 1773.<sup>27</sup> The beginning corner of the survey and the northwest boundary were on the banks of Linville Creek, and close to this point stood the homestead. Abraham's brother Isaac also obtained 200 acres from his father at the same time.<sup>28</sup>

In September, 1779, Abraham secured an additional fifty acres to the south of his property,<sup>29</sup> but in less than five months had sold his entire holdings.<sup>30</sup>

The 5,000 pounds, current money of Virginia, which Abraham received for his Linville Creek property he evidently spent for land warrants. With the assistance of Daniel Boone he was able to locate over 6,000 acres of land in the Kentucky Country. His cousin Hananiah Lincoln, who evidently accompanied him, bought nearly 5,000 acres, and his brother Thomas, who came some time later, bought 290 acres in the very heart of the Bluegrass near Lexington. There may have been other lands in possession of these Lincolns, but, if so, they were sold by 1795.

An entry in Boone's survey book for July, 1776, reveals the fact that at this early date some of the Lincolns back in Virginia were contemplating a trip to Kentucky with the prospects of locating. One thousand acres of land was entered by Boone at this time for his friend Lincoln, but just which Lincoln was designated by this entry we are unable to say.<sup>31</sup> We are certain, however, that as early as 1780 Abraham was disposing of his Virginia land as recorded in the deed books of Augusta County. We also find him, in March of this same year, securing three land warrants, each one calling for 300 acres to be located in any county of Virginia. This probably was the first actual step taken towards the removal of his family to the Kentucky Country.

Two months later Lincoln entered 400 acres of land on Floyd's Fork in what is now Jefferson County, Kentucky.<sup>32</sup> This entry was made on May 29, and one week later he entered 800 acres on Green River in Lincoln County.<sup>33</sup> These entries would imply that he came to Kentucky on a prospecting trip immediately after the sale of his Virginia lands. Sixty days would be plenty of time for a party to make the trip through the wilderness. We learn from William Calk's Journal that his party "Set out from prince Wm. to travel to Caintuck" on March 13, 1775, and an entry announcing their arrival at their destination in Central Kentucky under the date April 25, 1775, records, "We git us a plaise at the mouth of the creek & Begin clearing this day."

We can locate, by these records of land transactions, the whereabouts of Abraham Lincoln during the spring months of 1780. He was making what was probably his first journey through the wilderness. With the entrance of the land on his

arrival, three requisites to guarantee permanent possession would detain Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky for at least a year. He must first build a cabin, then put in a crop and harvest it, and spend a year's residence in the country where his claims were held. There is some indication that there were already improvements on the Green River holdings, but the 400 acres on Floyd's Fork would require some work. Abraham would be detained here until the spring of 1781 and would probably remain until the spring planting was done before returning to Virginia for his family.

There is a strong probability that Abraham Lincoln assisted in building Hughes Station, located on the land owned at that time by Morgan Hughes. The Hughes land was adjacent to the Lincoln land, and the custom of the pioneer would suggest that one of the eight cabins, which with four block houses at the corners comprised the station, was built and occupied by Lincoln. Bland Ballard, a contemporary of Lincoln's, states that "The station was erected by Morgan Hughes in 1780; it stood on Long Run in Jefferson County, not far from the Baptist Meeting house, that it consisted of eight cabins and four block houses and that it was a weak fort poorly built."<sup>34</sup> We are confident that this fort was the shelter of Abraham Lincoln while he was preparing for the coming of his family.

Lincoln was evidently back in Virginia again by the first day of May, 1781, as his name appears on a petition bearing that date for the establishment of a town in Rockingham County.<sup>35</sup>

In the fall of that year certain commissioners were delegated to secure the signature of his wife to his land releases, and, possibly after this was done and there was no question about the removal of his family, he made a second trip into Kentucky, evidently in the spring of 1782.<sup>36</sup>

His name is absent from the Virginia records in 1782, which has made some believe that the migration of the family took place as early as that year. An interesting document discovered in the Draper collection at Madison, Wisconsin, carries this information which, if correct, moves the migration of the family to the fall of 1782:

" . . . A negro, whose master Abraham Linkhorn lived at Crow's S[tation]. cut his throat. *Abraham Linkhorn*, 2 or 3 weeks before Blue L[icks] Bat[tle] [August 16, 1782] had started one

Monday morning to go in to Va. Had been out to look at the country, and make ready to remove his family. After he had started, he turned back to get something at Danville: and saw 5 indns:. He ran, & they took after him and caught him. He sd. they were spies. If he hadn't run they wodn't have troubled him: but when he ran they knew he had seen them. Called him a d——d fool for it. Made him run the gauntlet."<sup>37</sup>

When the Lincolns left Virginia, the party consisted of Abraham and his wife, Bersheba, three sons, Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas, and two daughters, Mary and Ann. Thomas became the father of the President. One other Lincoln was undoubtedly a member of this party or joined it after it reached Kentucky. His name was Hananiah Lincoln, and he was a cousin of Abraham and a son of Mordecai Lincoln of Exeter. About one month after Abraham entered his tract of land, in December, 1782, Hananiah entered a tract, on January 17, 1783.<sup>38</sup> These two land deals imply that the Lincolns had arrived in Kentucky before the year 1783, but we must admit that it does not establish the time of their arrival.

The first documentary evidence, aside from the land entry, we have of the presence of Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky after his removal from Virginia is in November, 1783, when he secured the services of a surveyor to locate 2,268 ½ acres of land on Green River.<sup>39</sup> Just where Abraham and his family settled on first arriving in Kentucky we are unable to say, although circumstances would indicate that the Hughes Station site would offer the best protection. By the time of their arrival there were eight other forts erected not far away.

The 800-acre site on Green River—this tract should not be confused with the larger tract mentioned above—was the first to be surveyed, however, as we find in November, 1784, the surveyors at work there.<sup>40</sup> It was not until May 7, 1785, that the land on Floyd's Fork near Hughes Station was surveyed,<sup>41</sup> which might imply a later settlement of the location which is now accepted as the pioneer home of the Lincoln family. The Green River location would be the first site reached on the way from Virginia. There is some evidence that the Lincolns may have remained here a year or so, as brought out in the article by Mrs. Jouett Taylor Cannon in the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for January, 1929.



It is our belief that when Abraham Lincoln first came to Kentucky on his prospecting trip in 1780, he settled on Floyd's Fork and assisted Morgan Hughes, his nearest neighbor, in erecting the fort at Hughes Station, as we have already stated. The fact that Morgan Hughes and Abraham Lincoln entered adjacent pieces of property on the same day strengthens this assertion. During the residence there that year, he had an opportunity to observe the difficulties of pioneer life and witness the hostility of the Indians. If we will accept the suggestion that Abraham did not return to Virginia until after his crops were started in the spring of 1781, we must conclude that he experienced some clashes with the Indians during this temporary residence.

To advise one of the severity and frequency of the attacks by the Indians in the immediate vicinity of the Long Run home during the time that Lincoln was establishing his claim, we take the liberty to quote two excerpts from Marshall's *History of Kentucky*. "In March, 1781, several marauding parties entered Jefferson County and way-laying the paths, killed Col. William Lynn, also Captains Tipton and Chapman at different places on Beargrass. . . . In April a station settled by Squire Boone, near where Shelbyville now stands, became alarmed by the appearance of Indians, and after some consultation among the people of the place they determined to remove to the stronger settlement near Beargrass. In executing this resolution men, women and children, encumbered with household goods and cattle were overtaken on the road near Long Run by a large party of Indians, attacked and defeated with considerable loss and general dispersion."

These depredations by the Indians were in a measure offset by the ever-increasing number of emigrants who came to Kentucky in great companies. During the spring of 1780 there is said to have been three hundred boat-loads of settlers who landed at the Falls of the Ohio, now Louisville.<sup>42</sup> That Abraham came back to the Kentucky Country with the enthusiasm of the adventurer we cannot doubt, but these earlier impressions, largely emphasized by the activities of the Indians during his first visit, were to come closer home.

After walking over the territory which formerly comprised the Long Run home of the Lincolns; after reading many traditions re-

porting the massacre, keeping in mind the actual locations of fort, cabin, and probable site of the tragedy; and remembering the President's reference to the event in his autobiography, we would venture an account of the massacre something like this:

Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer, with his three sons, Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas, ages fifteen, thirteen, and ten respectively, had been putting in a crop of corn in a clearing on his Long Run farm. At the close of day they started for Hughes Station about one half mile away, where the family was then living in one of the eight cabins within the station. On their way they were attacked by two or three Indians, and the father was killed at the first fusillade. Near by was a new cabin which had been built by the Lincolns but was as yet unoccupied. Into this cabin darted Mordecai and Thomas, but Josiah continued on the run to the fort. Despising the ability of Mordecai's marksmanship, an Indian stepped out of the thicket to get the scalp of the massacred Abraham. Mordecai within the cabin took aim at a silver pendant on the breast of the Indian and brought him down. The settlers, warned by the firing and hearing the story of the presence of red men from Josiah, started in pursuit of the remaining Indians.

The time and place of the massacre of Abraham Lincoln are questions that previous to the author's investigation have never been definitely settled. A paper filed in the Lincoln *vs.* Reed suit, contested at Bardstown, Kentucky, was discovered by the writer, in which Mordecai Lincoln, under oath, makes this affirmation: "Abraham departed this life in May, 1786, without will."<sup>43</sup> While the date of Lincoln's death had been placed as early as 1782 and as late as 1788, the year 1784 had been generally accepted as the fatal year largely because of the testimony of the President. This is one of the very few places where we find the President in error.

To R. C. Ballard Thruston, of The Filson Club, and his kinsman Bland W. Ballard we are under special obligation for locating the place of Abraham Lincoln's massacre. An erasure on a plat of Hughes Station now on file with the papers of the Durrett collection in the University of Chicago is a very valuable contribution to this question. Under the plat Colonel R. T. Durrett made the following note:

"Bland W. Ballard states that the station was erected by Morgan Hughes in 1780; that it stood on Long Run in Jefferson

County not far from the Baptist Meeting House; that it consisted of eight cabins and four block houses at the corners and that it was a weak fort poorly built. In 1786 a man was killed here by an Indian, while he was coming to the station from his land near by on Long Run, where he had been putting in a crop. His family resided in the station and soon after his death the widow and children removed to Washington County."

As Bland W. Ballard died in 1853, he could have had no reason to use the pioneer's name, if he were a Lincoln, as the name Lincoln was of no more significance at that time than a thousand other names.

It is an erasure under this note that is of greatest interest. It was written in the form of a query. For some reason it had been erased, but with the help of a very strong glass I have been able to make out each word in the original writing. "Query. Might not this man thus killed have been Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of the President?" While the query was probably written there by Durrett during his Lincoln investigations, likely it was erased when he found that Lincoln understood his grandfather to have been killed in 1784, instead of 1786. The finding of the exhibit at Bardstown which affirms the latter date also affirms, in a measure, the query of Durrett, and the tradition of Bland W. Ballard.

A document discovered by the writer is now available in the Durrett collection at Chicago which answers the question of the residence of the Lincolns at the time of the father's massacre. It is a subscription list drawn for the support of General Clark's expedition against the Wabash Indians. It contains the names of the Long Run neighbors of the Lincolns, among them Benj. Huse and "Blan" Ballard, the informant of the Durrett note. There also appears on this petition the name of "Widow Lincoln," who gave a gun valued at eight pounds for service against the Indians. The date of this subscription paper is September 8, 1786. The writer has checked up several of the pioneer names on the list and finds that they were all Jefferson County citizens. The fact that the "Widow Lincoln" was still living in Jefferson County, evidently at Hughes Station, four months after the massacre of her husband should be sufficient evidence that her husband lost his life on the Long Run farm.<sup>44</sup>

One feature of the many traditions about the death of Abraham Lincoln, Sr., is the story of the silver pendant worn by the

Indian who massacred the pioneer and at which Mordecai took aim and thereby made his shot effective. The writer recently came across a manuscript in the Draper Collection at the University of Wisconsin which may bear upon this discussion:

“In the month of May 1786 two Indians stole two horses from Strode’s Station, they were pursued by sixteen men, crossed Licking at the mouth of Flat Creek and were pursued then over to Fox Creek. There they were reenforced by seven more Indians making their number nine. . . . they crossed the head branches of the North Fork of Licking and [went] across the ridge to the head of Salt Lick that empties into the Ohio. . . . We got sight of but two of them. . . . We pursued and killed them both. One was a young man and was killed by James Strode and David Hughes. The other was a large man about forty years old, and carried a sword but no gun. He was killed by John McIntire, and John Donaldson. . . . We then returned to camp. . . . The Indians had in their bundles women and children’s clothes of different sizes which no doubt they had taken from persons they had murdered. The Indian killed, that had no gun, had 59 silver broaches plaited in his hair and a large silver plate on his breast.”<sup>45</sup>

It was often the case that groups of Indians would divide into pairs after reaching Kentucky, as they could best accomplish their ends by sneaking up on some unsuspecting party, murder and rob him, and then return with their pilfer to a designated meeting place for their return to their camp. It would not be at all improbable that the groups mentioned in the above incident and especially the two murdered Indians, were members of the same tribe that attacked and massacred Abraham Lincoln. The silver pendants worn by both the dead Indian in the Strode account and the dead Indian in the Lincoln massacre may have had a common origin. The fact that both events took place in the month of May, 1786, and that the character of their objectives were similar, gives strength to the supposition that they were units of the same marauding band.

When Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer, was massacred by the Indians in the month of May, 1786, he was but forty-two years old, a comparatively young man. His economic standing in the Kentucky Country would have been assured had he lived and been able to put forth his energy into adding to the 6,000 acres already in his possession at the time of his death. The fact that he

had been one of the leading citizens in Rockingham County, Virginia, should convince one that, as he approached the prime of life, he would have exerted a like influence in the Kentucky Country.

It is to be hoped that the memory of Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer, shall not rest entirely upon the part played by his illustrious grandson, but that he may stand as a type of the unnumbered host of our fathers who, as they tried to open up and cultivate the Western Lands, succumbed to the American redskins.

<sup>1</sup> Waldo Lincoln, *History of the Lincoln Family*, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1923, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Original will in City Hall, Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, Department of MSS, First Series, Vol. V, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, Department of MSS, Second Series, Vol. IX.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Waldo Lincoln, *History of the Lincoln Family*, p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Deed Book XV, p. 50, Augusta County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>10</sup> Order Book XIV, p. 97, Augusta County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>11</sup> Susan S. Towles, *History of Transylvania Company*, Henderson, Kentucky.

<sup>12</sup> Will Book, Carter County, Tennessee, Court.

<sup>13</sup> *Abstracts from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 367.

<sup>14</sup> John W. Wayland, *History of Rockingham County, Virginia*, 1912, p. 106.

<sup>15</sup> Commissioners' tax books for Fayette County, Kentucky, 1801, 1814, Kentucky State Historical Society Archives, Frankfort.

<sup>16</sup> Will Book IV, p. 298, Augusta County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>17</sup> Order Book XVI, p. 222, Augusta County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>18</sup> Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, *Lincoln*, Indianapolis, 1922, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Deed Book O, p. 95, Rockingham County, Virginia, Court. Commission Tax Book for Washington County, Kentucky, 1792. Archives Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort.

<sup>20</sup> Marriages, Augusta County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>21</sup> Chrisman, Herring, *Memoirs of Lincoln*, Mapleton, Iowa, 1930, p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> Deed Book 21, p. 434, Augusta County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>23</sup> Book B, p. 60, Surveyors' Office, Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court.

<sup>24</sup> Will Book IV, p. 2988, Augusta County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>26</sup> John W. Wayland, *Virginia Valley Records*, Strasburg, Virginia, 1930, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> Deed Book XIX, p. 359, Augusta County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>29</sup> Deed Book O, p. 53, Rockingham County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>31</sup> Draper MSS, Vol. XXV, p. 38, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>32</sup> Land Book A, p. 107, Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>34</sup> Box marked "Forts," Durrett Collection, University of Chicago.

<sup>35</sup> John W. Wayland, *Virginia Valley Records*, 1930, p. 96.

<sup>36</sup> Deed Book O, p. 95, Rockingham County, Virginia, Court.

<sup>37</sup> Draper MSS 12CC46, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>38</sup> Draper MSS, Boone Library Books, Vol. 25, pp. 38, 84.

<sup>39</sup> Papers for June, 1816, Nelson County, Kentucky, Circuit Court.

<sup>40</sup> Virginia Surveys, Kentucky Land Office Archives, Frankfort, Kentucky.

<sup>41</sup> Book B, p. 60, Surveyor's Office, Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court.

<sup>42</sup> Draper MSS 17CC, pp. 124-125.

<sup>43</sup> Papers for June, 1816, Nelson County, Kentucky, Court.

<sup>44</sup> See copy of Subscription List, our footnote No. 46.

<sup>45</sup> Draper MSS, Kentucky Papers, 12CC82, Narrative of William Sudduth, copied by Rev. John D. Shane. Later I found that another copy of the Narrative of William Sudduth, Draper MSS, Kentucky Papers, 14U114, is published in THE FILSON CLUB HISTORY QUARTERLY, January, 1928, where it is entitled "A Sketch of the Early Ad-

ventures of William Sudduth in Kentucky," copied for publication by Colonel Lucien Beckner. There are a few slight differences in these two manuscript copies, but none in the extract here quoted.

<sup>46</sup> SUBSCRIPTION LIST. This copy of the original manuscript in the Durrett MSS File, 1786, University of Chicago, should settle three questions of dispute: the place of Abraham Lincoln, Sr's, massacre, the probability of his immediate death upon being attacked, and the widowhood of Bersheba Lincoln while still living in Jefferson County. It is here reprinted from *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood*, Warren, 1926, page 298:

We the undersigned subscribers being duly sworn to appraise the following articles for the use of an expedition against the Wabash Indians commanded by General Clark for Capt. George Pomeroy's Company September the 8th, 1786.

A Cow the Property of Richard Chenowitz to Six Pounds . . . . .	6. 0.0
A Steer the Property of John McManes to Four Pounds . . . . .	4. 0.0
A Steer the Property of Thomas Curry to Six Pounds . . . . .	6. 0.0
A Cow the Property of James Denny to Seven Pounds . . . . .	7. 0.0
A Steer the Property of Robert Eakens to Six Pounds . . . . .	6. 0.0
A Stray Steer at William Murrys at Linns Station to Three Pounds . . . . .	3. 0.0
A Bull supposed to be the property of Capt. Breckenridge or William Robison . . . . .	6. 0.0
A Steer the Property of John Humes to Six pounds . . . . .	6. 0.0
A Cow the Property of Christian Shake to Six Pounds . . . . .	6. 0.0
A Blanket the Property of Arthur Chenowitz to one pound fourteen shillings . . . . .	1. 14.0
A Steer the Property of John Reed to Five Pounds . . . . .	5. 0.0
A Blanket the Property of Robert McCune to Twelve Shillings . . . . .	0. 12.0
A Bag the Property of Sam Shannon of Brashears Creek . . . . .	0. 9.0
A Bag the Property of Moses Kirkpatrick to nine shillings . . . . .	0. 9.0
A Bag the Property of George Pomeroy to twelve shillings . . . . .	0. 9.0
A Bag the property of William Rice to fifteen shillings . . . . .	0. 15.0
Four Lash Ropes four Halters belonging to James A. Sturges Senr . . . . .	0. 6.0
A Packsaddle belonging to John Holt . . . . .	0. 10.0
A Gun the Property of Moses Tyler . . . . .	7. 0.0
A Gun Shotbag and Powderhorn the property of Robert Tyler . . . . .	7. 0.0
A Shotbag Powderhorn Blanket and Packsaddle the property of Henner Seaton . . . . .	2. 0.0
A Gun the Property of Widow Lincoln . . . . .	8. 0.0
A Mare the Property of George Pomeroy . . . . .	18. 0.0
A Mare the Property of James Patterson . . . . .	20. 0.0
A Packsaddle the Property of Blair Ballard . . . . .	0. 9.0
A Blanket the Property of Benj. Huse . . . . .	1. 0.0
A Packsaddle the Property of Robt. McCune . . . . .	0. 6.0
A Horse the Property of William Murray . . . . .	25. 0.0
A Gun the Property of Abner Hughes with Shotbag and Horn . . . . .	9. 0.0
A Bag the Property of John Reed to twelve shillings . . . . .	0. 12.0
A Bag the Property of John Sharp to twelve shillings . . . . .	0. 12.0
A Mare the Property of John Reed to sixteen Pounds . . . . .	16. 0.0
A Bell the Property of John Reed to ten shillings . . . . .	0. 10.0
A Bell and Bellstrap the Property of Nicholas Russel . . . . .	0. 12.0
A Horse the Property of Eden Horton to twelve pounds . . . . .	12. 0.0
A Bag the Property of Daniel Curry to six shillings . . . . .	0. 6.0

James A. Sturges  
Henner Seaton













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